## THE SECOND AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

Seward's Abolition Programme for Lincoln's Administration.

CEMS FROM HIS ORATIONS IN THE WEST

THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT.

Failure of a Satisfactory and Soothing Policy on the Slavery Question, and Necessity for an Opposite Course of Conduct.

The Becrease and Diminution of African Slavery in All the States Reselved Upon.

The Question to be Settled in One Single Administration.

in Exterminating War of Races Bullets for All or None-Ballots for All or None.

Comparative Effects of Slavery and Freedom.

DERINIVE TREASMENT OF SECESSION THREATS

Senator Seward, in his recent political pilgrimage to the Northwest, and in the many speeches which he made, commencing with his elaborately prepared one in Detroit, and ending with his extempora-neous one in Buttalo, appeared anxious to impress spon all who heard and read them a few leading leas; and his paramount object undoubtedly was to force Mr. Lincoln into the adoption of these ideas, and compel his administration, in the event of the success of the republican party, to make Mr. Seward showed his great superiority over other demagogues and stump politicians, in the remarka-ble freshness which he managed to impart to all his speeches, and although each one of them might have been reported and published in full without its appearing to be in the slightest degree a repetition of what he had said before, still through ments which he desired to instil in the public mind and have incorporated in the policy of the republican party. These were, first, the new dogma of epressible nature of the conflict between slave labor and free labor-between aristocracy and democracy—between rich and poor. Second, the injurious and deteriorat-ing influences of slavery upon the wealth and progress of a community, as contrasted with the effects of freedom. Third, the inevitable necesnity and duty of prohibiting the introduction of any more slave States and Territories, and of ultimately extinguishing slavery where it now exists. Fourth, the delusive and absurd character of all threats and fears in regard to the perpetuity of the Union or the secession of Southern States. Fifth, the manifest destiny of the republic to absorb all contiguous territory on this continent; and board and Middle States to the new States of the great West. All through his political harangues, rom the lakes to the head waters of the Mississippi, these speculations formed the leading topics. Much as his speeches varied, little as he dealt in repetitions, fresh and original as all appeared to he, he never lost sight of these prominent ideas of other on all occasions. So, analyzing these West-ern speeches of Wm. H. Seward, it is worth while to make extracts from them, and to enable our readers to understand and appreciate thoroughly forced if the black republican party are to have the control of the helm for the next four years.

Our readers do not need to be reminded that this doema of William H. Seward's was first enuncisecribed to the black republican candidate for President, to a political newspaper of Richmond, and back to the writers andlaw givers of antiquity. But whether to Mr. Seward does or does not be long the paternity of the phrase, he certainly is the great apostle of the idea embodied in it. Read bow, in his Detroit speech, delivered on the 4th of Beptember, he describes the existence of this con-fliet in various parts of the confederacy:--

how, in his Detroit speech, delivered on the 4th of Beptember, he describes the existence of this conflict in various parts of the confederacy:—

The North is not satisfied. Its masses want a suppression of the African sinve trade, and an effectual exclusion of siavery from the Territories, so that all the new and future States may surely be free States. The South is not natisfied. Its masses, by whatever means and at whatever cost, desire the establishment and protection of alwardy in the Territories, so that none of the new states may fail to become alave States. The East is discontented with the neglect of its fashery, manufacture and navigation; and the West is impatient ender the operation of a national policy hoetile to its agricultural, mining and notial developments. What government in the world but our has persistently refused to improve rivers, construct harbors and establish lighthouses for the protection of its commerce? New and anomalous combinations of citizens appear, in the North, justifying armed instigators of civil and service war; in the South, devising means for the disruption and dimemberment of the Union. It is manifest that we are suffering in the respect and confusion are more flagrant among ourselves most than ever before. \*\*

I have understood that John Quincy Adams, the purer and wiscest statesman I ever knew, died despairing of a peaceful solution of the problem of slavery, on which he was so intently engaged throughout his public service. If we may judge from the absolute failures of Mr. Van Buren, Mr. Poic, Mr. Pierce and sir, Buchanan, in the respect, I have mentioned, and if we take into consideration also the systems which Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Benton, Mr. Cay and Mr. Webnier severally recommended, and which have subsequently failed to be adopted, we may perhaps conclude that he digitalises of establishing a assignatory and socking policy have exclusive down on part. In that high and extensively exciting evolute followed, and which have subsequently failed to be adopted, we may perh

The time had come to organize government deally in the newly acquired Territory of Louis and, on principles that should be applied thereafter in all cases of further suprantion. This measuring brought into planting tight a singular to the conference of 1787, that amountains much sold by the ordinance of 1787, that amountains institution must note be further circumsercised by estending the ordinance to cours the new States to be extensived in the Lemistrantan purchase. To this cond a new and humans impulse naturally smooth the country, naturally, the freedom of human later.

But atthough statement qualified for the crisis appeared, no party stood forth to support them with our

starcy, and the country after a temporary glow of f context temporary submitted into cold indifference, and an a compromise was made which divided the newly wor quired domain between free labor and capital in siarces, between freedom and siavery, a memorable compromise of greater governances of freedom were found unavailing and worthless. History says that the compromise of 15th was necessary to save the Union from disruption. I do not dispute history, nor debate the settled moral questions of the part. I only iament that it was 'accessary, if indeed it was so. History teits us that the course then adopted was wise. I do not controver it. I only mourn the occurrence of even one case, meet certainly the only one that ever did happen, in which the way of wisdom has falled to be also the way of sheatenings and the path of peace. It was in 1838, therefore, that the national deviation began. We have centured ever since the divergent course then so inconsiderately entered, until at last too have reached a point subter, amid confusion, besiderment and sociated verticinations, it seems alike impossible top forecard or to make We have added territory after Territory, and region after region, with the customary boldness of feebly resisted conjustors, not merely registering to keep flavery out of our new possessions, but actually removing all the barriers against it which we found standing at the times of conquest. In doing his we have defed the moral opinions of mankind, overnment he leave and systems of our fathers, and athorist of their memerics by declaring that the unequalited and plantons constitution which they goes us carries with it, as it attends our eagles, not freedom and personal rights to the appressed, but statery and a hateful and hateful commerce the whole habitable globe.

It seems a bold suggestion to say that a great nation cought to reconsider a practice of forty years' deration; but forty years of a nation's life are equivalent to only one year in the life of an individual. The thought is at least co

them, through the action of the federal government, from the unrewarded and compulsory labor of any other class or race of men.

I asswer, secondly, that we have sugar and cotton a cough already for demestic consumption, and a surplus of the latter for exportation, without any ingresse of slave territory. Do you say that Europe wants more sugar and cotton than we can now supply? I reply, let, then, for rope send her free laborers hither or into italy, or into the West Indies, or into the East; or fit is sait them better, let them eagage the natives of cotton growing regions in the Old World, to produce cotton and sugar voluntarily and for adequate compensation. Such a course, instead of fortifying and enlarging the sway of slavery here, will leave us free to favor its gestual remoral. It will renew or introduce divilitation on the shores of the Mediterranean and throughout the coasts of the Indian Ocean. Christianity, more fully deceased and better understood now than heretofore, turns with disgust and horre, from the employment of force and piracy as a necessary agree of the Gospel.

Fourthly, all the market even and plansible political receives which have hereoned and plansible political for an extension of slavery have at last been found failactions and frivolous.

It is unavaluing now to say that this government was made by and for white men only, since even claves own day and for white men only, since even claves own and actual representation in every department of the federal government. No government can excuss itself from it by the Revolution, and are not only held to allegiance now under our laws, but are also subjected to taxation and actual representation in every department of the federal government. No government can excuss their from the duty of protecting the extreme rights of every human being, whether foreign or active born, bond or free, whom it compulsorly holds within its jurisistion. The great fact is now faily realized that the Africae area here is a foreign and feeble element, like the In

and the South into complete unanimity in favor of that return.

Finally, I counsel that return because a statesman has been designated who possesses, in an eminent and most satisfactory degree, the virtues and the qualifications necessary for the leader in so great and generous a move ment; and I feel well assured that Abraham Lincoln will not fall to reinaguirate the ancient constitutional policy in the administration of the government successfully because the republican party, after ample experience, has it least acquired the courage and the constancy necessary to seatain him, and because I am satisfied that the people, at least fully convinced of the wisdom and necessity of the propised reformation, are prepared to sustain and give it effect.

In Landing, the capital of the State of Michigan.

came the republican party, after ample experience, has dit last acquired the courage and the constancy necessary to sestain him, and because I am satisfied that the people, at last fully convinced of the wisdom and necessity of the proposed reformation, are prepared to sustain and give it effect.

In Lansing, the capital of the State of Michigan, Mr. Seward addressed an immense assemblage on the 6th of September, and in the course of his speech thus illustrated the same general idea:

Savery and freedom cannot exist in the same state; they are incompatible; there is an "irrepressible confinct" between term. (Laughter) Introduce sisvery and you expet freedom; introduce freedom, and slavery will scource or later die. It has been always my policy to taxe care that every new state should be a free state, constitutional seeling.

Constitutional seeling, or door, which the limits of African slavery in all the States. (Appliance). That is the whole question. If I am wrong, then I am gree-piously wrong, and you may abandon me and my alternatives. If I am wrong in pronouncing slavery instipation, the states of the states of the states of the states. (Appliance) is constituted as even in the states of the states of the states, on the continent of America, and which still retains any vestige of slavery, that does not to day confess itself to be in danger of domestic insurrection? Not one. A bandful of made men meeting in Chatham, and going with a few pikes and spikes and spears, slaven state. Remarks of slavery that does not to day confess itself to be in danger of domestic insurrection? Not one. A bandful of made men meeting in Chatham, and going with a few pikes and spikes and spears, slaven and territy the olders and prouded, and once the greatest and leading State in the federal Tesion, with the panic of insurrection and civil was mind and principles of creating of the slave who have proved and object to do with this why interfere in that subject? Why not slope the opposite points of states one, but that itself and pr

are entrenched and cetablished so strong in hereditary aristocracy, no empire oan stand, except as it yields to the democratic principles, look around over the United States of America, and see how long you can hold those States in a federal union, or maintain an empire, except on the principles of democracy. Therefore, it is that I say that you of the Northwest are above all things, first, last, and all the time, to recognize as the great element of this republic the system and principles of democracy. An aristocracy is the government in which the few privileged own the ladds and the many unprivileged own the laborers work for them. Here, then, is the great problem: Is there any danger that in the United States the citizen will not be the owner of the land which be cultivates? Disquise these issues now before the poople as they may be disquired by the democratic party, still it is perfectly true that if the resistance of this people to slavery were now to cease, the African slave trade would be renewed, the people, tired with a hopeices resistance, would become indifferent, and once more African slavery would become the disgraceful trade of the American figs. The Southern States choose slavery instead of freedom, and they have to drag out for years yet not long, not so long as some of you will live, but still so long that they will be a drag and a weight on your movements instead of lending you assistance—they have got to drag to the end their system of slave labor.

At Dubuque he declared that

The national policy on the subject of labor had been for the last forty years erroneous, faise and tending to rain, and that it must be reversed. Our policy, and he, is the reverse of that. It is to circumscribe alavery and to fortify and extend freedom. (Applause.) O, what pleasure shall have in celling the people of Kansas that, while all others were faithness, faire or limid, they rescued the standard of freedom, expelled the introding alaveholder, and established the freedom (Applause.) O, what pleasure that it hav

neapolis to an extempore gathering, he denominated the present political condition of the country as a revolution, and said:—

That forty years ago there appeared a necessity for the great political revolution that was now going on. He had had no doubt of its ultimate success, because he believed that that success was an imperative becessity. He had, therefore, never saifered himself to be discouraged, even in the darkest moments, because he knew that a reaction was just as certain and inevitable in the floods and ebbs of political opinion as it was in the floods and ebbs of the Mississippt. The cause of truth and of virtue was ever advancing—ever going forward; and if, said he, I am able to read any thing of the signs of the times, that resolution is now on the ever es of a moconful communation.

In his great speech at St. Paul on the 18th of September, Mr. Seward represents the Ruler of the universe as taking part in this irrepressible conflict, on the side of the abolitionists, and says:—

Certainty, since we can lay so little claim to having produced these results by our own work, or wisdom, or virtue, what could it have been but that overraing power which, by its higher law, controls even the previses with of men, and which means that this shall be henoeforth and forever, as it was established in the beginning, a land, not of slavery, but a land of freedom. (Cheers.) Fellow citizens, cluer in one way or the other, whother you agree with me in attributing it to the interposition of Divine Previdence or not, this battle has been fought, this victory has been web. Slavery to day is, for the first time, not only poweriers, but without is fluonce in the American republic. The service anals of party, after party, which railled under it to sustain and support it, are broken and discoved under the preserve of the march—the great and powerful march—the great republican perity, determined to restore freedom to its original and just position in the government. For the drist time in the history of the United States ha

slave, any one to make a riave, any one of them to bold a slave, or any foot of their territory to be krockly a slave or by a man who is not equal to every other man in the eye of the law. (Applause)

The following extract is from his speech in Atchison on the 28th of September:—

This land should not only be a land of freedom—a land of knowledge and religion, but it should be, above all, a land which, as yet, cannot be said with trath of any part of Europe or any other part of the world, a land of, civil liberty, and a land can only be made a land of liberty by adopting the principle which has bever yet obtained in Europe, and which is only to be attained by learning it from numerlves—that is, that every human being being necessarily born the religion of the Declaration of Independence, all most are natural right to be a number of the State, and that, in the language of the Declaration of Independence, all most are born equal and have inalienable rights to life, (liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Some of the States were not established on this principle. For those States, members of our Union who have been mable or even enwilling to adopt this principle. For those States, members of our Union who have been mable or even enwilling to adopt this principle. It have only to say that I leave them free to enjoy whatever of happiness, and to attain whitever of prosperity, they can enjoy and attain with their system. But when I am called upon to establish a government for a new state, then I demand the application of the principles of the Declaration of Independence—(appliance)—that every man ought to be and should be a free man. Seelety can have but two forms by which the ladvidual can defend himself from opposesson. One is that which puts into his hand and tells him at the last resort to defend himself and his liberty. The other is that which puts into his hand, and the last resort to defend himself and his liberty. The other is that which puts into his hand, and the last resort to defend himself and his liberty

rams for tolerating any laws that restrict freedom of speech and of the press, he made this declaration:

Whatever lies in my power to do to bring into successful and practical operation the great principle that this government is a government for free men and not for slavers or slavebolders, and that this country is to be the home of the exile from every sand, letall do.

In his speech from the balcony of the Tremont House, in Chicago, he said:

Neither you nor I have any power to disturb those of our fellow citizens in the Fouthern States who maintain slavery, and having no power we have no responsibility. We need not fear that right, and justice, and humanity will not prevail in this world, even though we are not in the field where battles for it are to be fought or where in structions for it are to be given. There also been see so of the chairteen slove States of the confederacy redocand by the citizens of these States of the confederacy redocand by the citizens of these States of the confederacy redocand by the citizens of these States in the missions from the course from which we have been seend. All the others that remain may be left under the successing in disense of Christianity, to say nothing of policy, to deliver themselves from the course from which we have been seend. Non intervention in the States by Treemen as but half of the motion of the republican party. Non intervention by successions in the Territories of the United States is the residue. (Cheers.)

Mr. Seward's last important speech was that delivered at Chies are on the 2d beauty.

Non intervenice of saveloiders in the Territories of the United States is the residue. (Cheers.)

Mr. Seward's last important speech was that delivered at Chicago on the 2d last. It was chiefly devoted to the discussion of the slavery question. We make the following extracts from our telegraphic report:—

We make the following extracts from our tele-graphic report.—

He dealered that there was no enlightened and honest man also would not surrender some part of his weath to obtain the evel of sharery, and to consert the land coversed with it into a land of equal and imparitial liberty. Like that from a lond of equal and imparitial liberty, Like that from Governor whom St. Paul had almost per-maded to be a Christian, the American people were al-most pertuaded to be republican; but the national scales and judgment had been perverted. The effect of telerat-ing shreety had been to produce a want of croral courage, and that want was the fault of the political represents, tives of the people. The people would have to relect

contess that it was so. I said, "Genceforth I put my trust, not in my countymen, but in the crite from foreign lands. He has never learned to acoustom himself to slavery by habit, and he will save and retain these Territories."

No man ever rejoiced more over the birth of the first born than I rejoised when I saw the folly, the midness of the repeal of the Misnouri compromise, and of the rejection of Kanass. I raised a song of joy like the song of Miriam when I announced that henceforth the battle was ended. (Cheers) The battle is ended, and the victory won. Why, then, are we asked not to withdraw from the field? For the simple reason that if the victors retire the vanquished will come back, and the battle will not be won. (Cheers and laughter) The victors retire the vanquished will come back, and the battle will be be won. (Cheers and laughter) The republican party will complete the great resolution it clearly perocives it Daily it combined the needful forcet. It has force in all the free States, and force, in reserve at least, in every slave State. It has the right line of phil cy—a policy, not of force, but of rosson. It leaves the subject of slavery in the slave States to the care and responsibility of the slave States alone, abiling by the constitution of the country, which makes the slave States, on that adapted, sovereign. I know that the republican party will ausceed, because it is a positive and an active party. It is the only party in the sonarty that is or can be positive in its action. Abraham Lincoln represent a party which it resolved that no more slace shall be imported from Africa, or carried from any slace State to the common and of the United States. (Cheers) is "There is a time when nations require the settlement of subjects of contestion. The time has come at last. The slaveholding States and free States require the settlement of this owner. I make the representation of the force is a fine of the interprete. New subjects of political section of more hands and the require is sone of action of

and duty, and "we (the republican party) shall maintain the issue to the last."

EELATIVE EFFECTS OF FAREDOM AND SLAVERY.

The second idea which Mr. Seward gave prominence to in his crusading mission was that the influence of slavery is permicious and injurious to the well being of the State in which it exists. He pressed this on various occasions, but we will content ourselves with presenting a few extracts under this head. In his Detroit speech he said—Knowledge, emulation and independence among the members of a social state are the chief elements of national wealth, strength and power. Ignorance, indo-lence and bondage of indivitionals are always sources of national imbeculty and de-line. All nations in their turns have practised slavery. Most of them have abolished it. The world over, the wealthiest and most powerful nations have been those which tolerated it least, and which ear liest and most completely abolished it. Virginia and Texas are thrown into a pasic even now by the appearance or even the suspicion of a handful of men within their borders instigating civil war. Massachusetts and vermont edied British invasion, be keed by trason, eighty years ago.

the following:

There was not, he said, a slave employed in the forest, the sheries, the miner, the navigation or the commerce of the United States. Make us a nation of slaveholders and the feebless Power of Europe would only have to apply the torch of insurrection and civil war, by praposing to exancipate our slaves, and then we would have, in self-defence, to form a lederal union with Canada.

The following extracts are from his St. Paul speech-

specchi—
And now, fellow citizens, we see all around us the reuits of that wise policy. Certain of the States concurred partially in the policy of the fathers. I need not tell you what States they were. They were Massachiancetts, Vermont, Rhode Island, Omnecticut, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Some other States did not. I need not tell you want States of the Union. The six Southern States of the Union. The six Southern States and an invited immirgation, and adopted the policy of making all the men of the States free and equal, yet we will adobe to the system of sinery." Well, what is the reliable Tou see if in the cities of Boston, New York and Philadelphia. You see if in the wheat fields of New York, of Gibi, of Indiana, of Historia, of Wisconsin. You seek, of Gib, of Indiana, of Historia, of Wisconsin. You are in the wheat fields of New York, of Gib, of Indiana, of Historia, and the Wisconsin and Indiana and Indiana of Pennsylvania. Tou see it in the entire of the States free and furrances of Pennsylvania, the see it in the crowded shiptoning of New York, and in the Forget and furrances of Pennsylvania, the present the World and grasping to herself the commerce the World and grasping to the world and grasping to the world and grasping to the Pennsylvania, the grasm in New York, the seed in Illinois and the silver and the gold in the froe States of the Pacific coast. In all these pure set for first the World and the world and the world and the wore

The federal government secured the slave capital of slaveholders in Missouri. They rejoiced and triumphed, and fire don went mourning. The country rose and said, with one accord, "it is well done. Down with freedom, so as you only save negro capital." Now, have you ever stopped to it quire what capital Missouri had in slaves at that time? Missouri had then 10, 222 Africans in boodage. According to my recollection—for I was born a slaveholder, and have some idea of this thing—they were then worth \$300 a head, taking babes and mothers into account with the grown up field hands. That would make the whole water \$3.056,000. Arksman had then 1,000 slaves, worth \$450,000, so that all the capital put at slave in Missouri and Arksmans was only \$3,500,000. The slave in Missouri and Arksmans was only \$3,500,000. The slaves in Missouri and Arksmans was only \$3,500,000. The slaves in Missouri and Arksmans was only \$3,500,000. The slaves in Missouri was a slave slave and a stranger of the slaves proposed to configurate this property. They were left free to sell. There was no conficuation of the slaves proposed, as there never was in Massouri was repeated. On the slaves proposed to configurate this property. They were left free to sell. There was no conficuation of the slaves proposed, as there never was in Massouri was the slaves proposed, as there never was in Massouri was the slaves proposed, as there never was in Massouri was the slaves proposed, as there never was in Massouri was the slaves and the slaves proposed to configurate by the proposition to make Missouri at free State that even if there had been a confiscation, see how smail a sacrideo of property was to be made, against the imacence, the included and variages of freedom dispersed over this broad, continent. And see how unavailing are the devices and contrivances of men, of statemen, of parties, or even of nations, to connected and contrivances of men, of statemen, of parties, or even of nations, to connected the slave State in the configuration when they come

In St. Louis he said:—

What Missouri wants is courage, resolution, spirit, manhood—not consenting to take only that privilege of speech that slaveholders allow, but insisting on complete freedom of speech. But I have full trust that it will all come right in the end; that in two pears you will double your population, and that in fifteen or twenty years you will have four millions of people. To secure that you have but to let every man who comes here, from whatever State or nation, speak out what he believes will promote the welfare and interests of makind. What surprised me in Kansas was to see the vast improvements made there within six years, with so little wealth or strength among her people; and what surprised me in Missouri was that with such a vast territory and such great resources, there was so little of population, i mprovement and strength to be found. (Fait manifestations of approval.) I ought not, perhaps, to taik these things to you. I should have begun at the other end of the story, though a citizen of any other State has as much liberty here as the citizens of Missouri was the less liberty than I like. I want more than you have. I want to speak what I think, instead of what a Missourian thinks.

PERKEDOM IN STATES AND TERRITORIES.

Ireland, of Scotland, of France, of Germany, of It Ever since this continent was discovered oppression every form has been driving them from those land seek homes for their substatence and support on this tinent. There is no difference between as all except that my father was driven out of Europe by want privation some handred years ago, and otherwisome dred years later, and some have just come, we are exites directly, or represent those who were exises and by oppression, superstition and tyrano Europe. We are of one family, race and kindred, all in the pursuit of happleses; all sees ing to improve our dition; all seeking to elevase our character. Hy sympath have gone with this class of mea. My efforts have be as they must always be, to lay open before them the regions of this continent, to the end that we may e blish here a higher, a better and a happler civilina than that from which ourselves or our ancestors were lied in foreign lands.

In Cleveland he said:—

The point which I do make is, that in the Territoric

In Cleveland he said:—

The point which I do make is, that in the Territories of the United States, under its flag, no man has a right to take a slave, to settle or colonize, on the ground that he takes him there to be bought or sold, but that the State must keep him at home where he belongs. If not left a slave in the United States, he must be left in Africa, where he belongs. Adopting this principle, none but free men—practically, none but white men—will enser the Territories. They will reclaim them from their wilderness condition, and found there institutions of freedom. Slavery will avoid entering there, as the devit himself would avoid entering Paradise if the gates were opened for him by St. Peter. (Laughter.)

In his Lansing speech he said:—

In his Lansing speech he said:-In his Lansing speech he said:—
What, then, are my limits? Simply these:—The constitution of the United States makes you and me a saversign over the Territories of the United States for their good and for the welfare of the whole people. They are vacant, unoccupied, unimproved, and if they are left expeed to the cupidity of the slave master and the slave merchants before free men can reach there in numbers to cover the land with the civilization of the white man, the slave-holders would enter the Territories and colonize them with slaveholders and slaves. The smallest possible infusion of slavery into a State has been enough always to demoralize its whole people, and, strange to say, its turns them all into apologists and excuers and elected of confets, has been the rule of action among the American people for ferty years.

It is, therefore, a matter of the highest consequences whether slavery is voted up or voted down. Be sure, therefore, that you do not give the field to the therebodders and the slaver before free men are at liberty and prepared to enter it.

DAMGER OF DISSOLUTION.

Mr. Seward affected to treat the question of dissolution as one almost too absurd to talk about, and when he did refer to it at all it was generally in a derisive tone. It was not always so, however. In responding to an address made to him on his asrival at La Crosse, he said:—

If we found you isolated and separate communities, distinct from ourselves, we still should be obliged to rejoice in such evidences of prosperity and growing greatiness. How much more gratifying it is for us to find, in severything that we see and hear, abundant cridences that we are, after all, not separate and distinct peoples—not distinct peoples of lough, Wisconsin, New York and Massachusetts, but that we are one people—from Plymouth Rock at least to the banks of the Mississippi and to the foot of the Rocky Mountains. It is an assurance that enables us to trample under our feet every memose, every threat of distance, every alarm and apprehension of the dismember ment of this great empire; for we dind in the sentiments which you have expressed to us to day precisely the sentiments which were kinded two hundred years ago on Plymouth Rock, and which are spreading wider and wider, taking deeper and deeper roots in the American soil. They give us the sure and reliable guarantee that under every possible change of condition and circumstance the American speople will nowhere forget the common destiny which make them all one people.

get the common interests, the common affections and the common destiny which make them all one people.

His regular speech the same evening at Lo Crosse was directed principally to the same consideration. He said:—

Slavery, as a federal institution, is obsolete in this land. Only one argument remains to the democracy. It comes to us loudly and clamorously from the Southern Stakes, and querulously and timidly from among cursalves. It is that if we do not choose to give up the centert, and if we cleet our candidate, the fabric of the Valorashall be broken down and shall perish in ruins. That is the only argument left—that the Union will bodiesolved, if we succeed in selecting the honorable stateman from Illinois, Abraham Lincoln. Well, I propose to address a few words to you on the subject, and to examine how imminest that danger is with which we are meased. The Union is to be duscolved. Certainly. Why not, if Abraham Lincoln, or the Congress of the United States of the Union? But they will not wait for that, and they are very wise in not waiting for it, because if they put their hreats on that condition they would have to wait until after the election before they raised the argument. (Laughter, So it must be on the condition, pure and simple, that Abraham Lincoln shall be elected. It will be by a majority of the American people expressing their choice for him un-

that Jyon have but to its every man wise omes hever, from wistower filts or making, pasked out what he better filts of making the street of the control of t